Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 201439 TOSEC 100081

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DRAFTED BY A/AID, D. PARKER APPROVED BY A/AID, D. PARKER P, P. MARTINEZ (PHONE) EUR/WE, R.E. BARBOUR (PHONE) AA/NESA, R.A. NOOTER (SUBSTA; CE) S/S-O;DLMACK

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TAGS:PFOR, EAID, PO

SUBJECT: U.S. RESPONSE TO PORTUGUESE REQUEST FOR AID TO PORTUGUESE REFUGEES FROM ANGOLA.

FOR UNDERSECRETARY SISCO FROM ADMINISTRATOR PARKER

1. HAVE REVIEWED REPORTS FROM AMBASSADOR CARLUCCI OF HIS DISCUSSIONS WITH PRESIDENT COSTA GOMES ON POSSIBLE U.S. ASSISTANCE IN EVACUATING AND PROVIDING FOR PORTUGUESE REFUGEES

FROM ANGOLA. WE DO NOT WISH TO GIVE GOP IMPRESSION THAT WE ARE PREPARED TO PAY FOR THIS OPERATION ON THE SCALE GOP INTENDS. WE BELIEVE IT IS IMPORTANT TO MAKE CLEAR AT THIS STAGE THE LIMITATIONS OF FUNDS AVAILABLE FOR THIS PURPOSE.

2. AT LEAST FOR FUNDING REASONS, WE WISH IF POSSIBLE TO PARTICIPATE IN AN INTERNATIONAL EFFORT TO EVACUATE THE SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 201439 TOSEC 100081

REFUGEES AND SUCH INTERNATIONALIZATION CAN BEST BE DONE

THROUGH THOSE INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES HAVING EXPERIENCE WITH THIS TYPE OF PROBLEM WHICH HAVE THE CAPACITY TO APPEAL TO DONORS WORLDWIDE. ICEM HAS DEMONSTRATED CAPACITIES IN THIS AREA AS HAVE ICRC AND UNHCR.

3. U.S. MILITARY AIRLIFT COMMAND PRELIMINARY ESTIMATES OF

AIRLIFT COST FOR 80,000 REFUGEES IS \$23.8 MILLION ASSUMING OVERFLIGHT ACROSS AFRICAN COUNTRIES CAN BE OBTAINED. IF NOT COSTS WOULD ESCALATE TO \$40-50 MILLION DUE TO NEED FOR TOUCH DOWN, REFUELING AND CREW CHANGE ENROUTE TO LISBON. THUS REFLECTING THE MOST RECENT ESTIMATE OF AN ADDITIONAL 60,000 REFUGEES FOR A TOTAL OF 140 THOUSAND EVACUEES COST WOULD BE AT LEAST \$40 MILLION FOR DIRECT ROUTE AND DOUBLE THAT AMOUNT FOR INDIRECT ROUTING.

- 4. FYI: AVAILABILITY OF AIRCRAFT IS LIMITED UNTIL AROUND SEPTEMBER 15 BECAUSE OF SEASONAL DEMANDS AND AVAILABILE ITYOF EXTRA AIRCRAFT NEEDED FOR 140 THOUSAND REFUGEES IS IN ANY CASE UNCERTAIN.
- 5. USG FUNDING POSSIBILITIES TO RESPOND TO THIS REQUIREMENT ARE LIMITED. WE HAVE THREE AVENUES:
- A. DISASTER RELIEF: A NEW DISASTER RELIEF FUND IS NOT YET LEGISLATED AND THEREFORE UNDER THE CONTINUING RESOLUTION OF THE PREVIOUS YEAR'S DISASTER RELIEF FUND ONLY \$8.5 MILLION DOLLARS IS AVAILABLE THROUGH DECEMBER ON WHICH IT WOULD BE MOST IMPRUDENT TO DRAW DOWN ON MORE THAN \$5 MILLION FOR THIS CASE.
- B. PORTUGAL ACCOUNT: WITH CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL PER THE SECRETARY'S AGREEMENT WITH SENATOR INOUYE AND A NOTIFICATION TO THE CONGRESS UNDER SECTION 113 OF THE FAA, AN ADDITIONAL \$7.5 MILLION CAN BE OBTAINED FROM FUNDS AVAILABLE FOR PORTUGAL UNDER THE CONTINUING RESOLUTION.
- C. SUPPORTING ASSISTANCE: SHORT OF SUBMITTING A BUDGET AMENDMENT TO THE CONGRESS AND GOING THROUGH THE ENTIRE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS, THE MOST PRACTICAL ACCESS TO AVAILSECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 201439 TOSEC 100081

ABLE SUPPORTING ASSISTANCE FUNDS IS THROUGH A PRESIDENTIAL DETERMINATION THAT AVAILABLE SA FUNDS ARE REQUIRED IN THE SECURITY INTEREST OF THE UNITED STATES. THIS WOULD REQUIRE DRAWING DOWN ON COMPETING DEMANDS AND COMMITMENTS FOR SA FUNDS. A CASE FOR A PRESIDENTIAL DETERMINATION SEEMS WEAK.

6. WE URGE THAT AMBASSADOR CARLUCCI BE INFORMED OF THE

LIMITATIONS OF THE USG CAPACITY TO TRANSMITTAL OF THE CASE AND I RECOMMEND YOU AUTHORIZE TRANSMITTAL OF THE FOLLOWING CABLE:

BEGIN TEXT:

1. HAVE REVIEWED YOUR REPORTS OF DISCUSSIONS WITH PRESIDENT COSTA GOMES ON POSSIBLE U.S. ASSISTANCE IN EVACUATING

AND PROVIDING FOR PORTUGUESE REFUGEES FROM ANGOLA, WE DO NOT WISH TO GIVE GOP IMPRESSION THAT WE ARE PREPARED TO PAY FOR THIS OPERATION ON THE SCALE GOP INTENDS. FOLLOW-ING PERTAINS TO GOP REQUEST FOR U.S. ASSISTANCE TO EVACU-ATE 140,000 REFUGEES FROM ANGOLA AND IS PROVIDED TO GUIDE YOUR FURTHER CONSULTATIONS. WE VIEW THE REFUGEE PROBLEM IN THREE DISTINCT AND SEPARATE PHASES: (1) RELIEF IN ANGOLA ITSELF FOR REFUGEES, TO WHICH U.S. HAS ALREADY CONTRIBUTED \$200,000 THROUGH ICRC. (2) EVACUATION OF REFUGEES--NOW ESTIMATED BY GOP AT 140,000 AND PROVIDING FOR THEIR IMMEDIATE NEEDS IN PORTUGAL. WE UNDERSTAND MANY, OR MOST, OF THESE ARE PEOPLE WITHOUT ADEQUATE RESOURCES WHO COULD NOT BE EXPECTED TO PAY THEIR WAY. WE WOULD WANT TO BE SURE THAT UNNECESSARY EXPENDI-TURE IS AVOIDED TO EXTENT POSSIBLE. (3) POSSIBLE FURTHER ASSISTANCE IN THE RELIEF AND RE-SETTLEMENT OF REFUGEES IN PORTUGAL.

WE SHOULD MAKE CLEAR THAT WE ARE NOW CONSIDERING U.S. ASSISTANCE FOR THE MIDDLE PHASE ONLY.

2. BASED ON DOD MILITARY AIRLIFT COMMAND ESTIMATES COST OF AIRLIFT, ASSUMING DIRECT FLIGHTS POSSIBLE FOLLOWING OVERFLIGHT CLEARANCE, WOULD BE \$42 MILLION FOR AIRLIFTING SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 201439 TOSEC 100081

140,000 PEOPLE ANGOLA TO PORTUGAL. THIS BASED UPON CHARTER FLIGHT OF TWENTY-SIX AIRCRAFT FOR TWENTY-NINE FULL OPERATIONAL DAYS. PER DOD, ABSENCE OF OVERFLIGHT CLEARANCE WOULD DOUBLE COSTS SINCE INTERMEDIATE STOPOVERS FOR CREW CHANGE AND POSSIBLE OVERNIGHT REQUIRED. IMMEDIATE IMPLEMENTATION THIS OPERATION WOULD BE SERIOUSLY HAMPERED BY LACK OF READY AIRCRAFT AVAILABILITY TILL CLOSE OF HEAVY TOURIST SEASON, SEPTEMBER 15. USE OF MILITARY AIRCRAFT WOULD ADD APPROXIMATELY 20 PER CENT TO COST DUE TO LESS EFFICIENT PASSENGER CONFIGURATION.

3. RE MULTILATERAL OPERATION, IT APPEARS GOP HAS 10T FULLY CONSIDERED POSSIBILITIES, I.E., ICEM, ICRC OR THE UN HIGH COMMISSION FOR REFUGEES, BUT RATHER A COLLECTIVE BILATERAL ACTION. VIEW HIGH COST ESTIMATE OF PROPOSED OPER-

ATION, TRUE MULTILATERAL EFFORT WITH SIGNIFICANT U.S. SUPPORT APPEARS ESSENTIAL. ICEM CONSIDERED PARTICULARLY ABLE TO EXECUTE PROGRAM OF MAGNITUDE CONTEMPLATED. IF PROPERLY TIMED AND PUBLICIZED, A U.S. PLEDGE SHOULD HELP ENCOURAGE CONTRIBUTION TO ICEM FROM OTHER INTERNATIONAL DONORS, ESPECIALLY IN WESTERN EUROPE. AS YOU HAVE ALREADY POINTED OUT TO COSTA GOMES, THIS IS U.S. PREFERRED APPROACH IN ANY CASE.

4. ASSUMPTION IS THAT 140,000 REFUGEES DESCRIBED ARE

THOSE LACKING MEANS TO FINANCE THEIR OWN TRAVEL OR UNABLE TO OBTAIN COMMERCIAL TRANSPORT. ALSO THAT EVACUATION WOULD BE MANAGED TO INSURE THOSE WHO COULD FUND OWN TRAVEL WOULD DO SO IF ABLE TO OBTAIN COMMERCIAL TRANSPORT. CONFIRMATION OF THIS WOULD BE APPRECIATED.

5. USG FUNDING POSSIBILITIES TO RESPOND TO THIS REQUIREMENT ARE LIMITED. WE HAVE THREE AVENUES:

(A) DISASTER RELIEF: A NEW DISASTER RELIEF FUND IS NOT YET LEGISLATED AND THEREFORE UNDER THE CONTINUING RESOLUTION OF THE PREVIOUS YEAR'S DISASTER RELIEF FUND ONLY \$8.5 MILLION DOLLARS IS AVAILABLE THROUGH DECEMBER ON WHICH IT WOULD BE MOST IMPRUDENT TO DRAW DOWN ON MORE THAN \$5 MILLION FOR THIS CASE.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 05 STATE 201439 TOSEC 100081

(B) PORTUGAL ACCOUNT: WITH CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL PER THE SECRETARY'S AGREEMENT WITH SENATOR INOUYE AND A NOTIFICA-TION TO THE CONGRESS UNDER SECTION 113 OF THE FAA. AN AD-DITIONAL \$7.5 MILLION CAN BE OBTAINED FROM FUNDS AVAILABLE FOR PORTUGAL UNDER THE CONTINUING RESOLUTION. (C) SUPPORTING ASSISTANCE: SHORT OF SUBMITTING A BUDGET AMENDMENT TO THE CONGRESS AND GOING THROUGH THE ENTIRE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS, THE MOST PRACTICAL ACCESS TO AVAIL-ABLE SUPPORTING ASSISTANCE FUNDS IS THROUGH A PRESIDENTIAL DETERMINATION THAT AVAILABLE SA FUNDS ARE REQUIRED IN THE SECURITY INTEREST OF THE UNITED STATES. THIS WOULD REQUIRE REQUIRE DRAWING DOWN ON COMPETING DEMANDS AND COM-MITMENTS FOR SA FUNDS. A CASE FOR A PRESIDENTIAL DETER-INATION SEEMS WEAK. IT IS THEREFORE CLEAR THAT FULL FUND-ING FOR 140,000 REFUGEES IS NOT AVAILABLE. NONETHELESS OUR RESPONSE IS POSITIVE AND YOU CAN ASSURE FERRERIA DA CUNHA THAT WE ARE DEVELOPING PLANS. TOTAL U.S. PARTICI-PATION WOULD BE 12.5 MILLION DOLLARS SUBJECT TO CONGRES-SIONAL CONSULTATION.

6. REGARDING REQUEST FOR COMMODITIES, I.E., TENTS, BLAN-KETS, MEDICINES AND HOSPITAL FOR 40,000 REFUGEES, OUR PRE- LIMINARY ESTIMATE THESE COSTS IS MINIMUM 3.5 MILLION DOLLARS, ALTHOUGH IT COULD GO HIGHER. A FOOD INVOLVEMENT WOULD MULTIPLY THIS FIGURE. FYI: FEEDING COSTS FOR 140,000 DISPLACED PERSONS IN CYPRUS HAS COST UNHOR 2 MILLION DOLLARS PER MONTH. THESE ITEMS WOULD HAVE TO COME OUT OF ABOVE MENTIONED FUNDS. END FYI.

KEEP IN MIND THAT FOR THE REASONS STATED ABOVE THERE ARE LEGAL LIMITS BEYOND WHICH WE CANNOT GO IN PROVIDING FUNDS IN REQUIRED TIME FRAME. REQUEST YOU ALSO CONSIDER WHETHER OUR POSITIVE RESPONSE TO COSTA DA GOMES APPEAL IS PERHAPS ADEQUATE FOR THE MOMENT IN VIEW OF RUMORS OF IMMINENT

GOVERNMENT CHANGE. GIVEN U.S. FUNDING LIMITATIONS, WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR RECOMMENDATION AS TO APPROPRIATE ALLOCATION OF U.S. CONTRIBUTION BETWEEN AIRLIFT AND ASSISTANCE IN PORTUGAL. IF NEW MODERATE GOVERNMENT EMERGES IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS IT WOULD OBVIOUSLY BE IN OUR INTEREST TO GIVE IT THE CREDIT FOR AN INCREASED EFFORT ON BEHALF OF SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 06 STATE 201439 TOSEC 100081

THE REFUGEES FROM ANGOLA. ROBINSON

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